THE OFFICE-HOLDERS AND THE FREEDOM

We propose to-day to bestow a portion of our space in examining, as to one subject, the validity of the claim set up by the Locofoco party to be the disciples of Mr. JEFFERSON, and we shall show that, in assuming to be his disciples, that party are guilty of as gross a libel as was ever uttered against a public man. Indeed, we do not remember to have heard of a libel of any sort so unfounded, unless it be that on the cause of Democracy, which the same party every day publish, in arrogating the name of DEMOCRATS. Their true name is given by Mr. Jefferson himself-Monocrats: that is, partisans of the one-man power.

While his election to the Presidency was still doubtful, Mr. JEFFERSON thus wrote to a prominent political friend:

"One thing I will say, that, as to the future, interference with elections, whether of the State or General Governments by officers of the latter, should be deemed cause of removal BECAUSE THE CONSTITUTIONAL REMEDY BY THE ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE becomes nothing if it may be SMOTHERED by the enormous patronage of the General Government."

[Letter to Gov. McKean, February 2, 1801. The sincerity of this declaration was evinced shortly after his election by the circular which the

several heads of Departments issued by his order

"The President of the United States has seen" (says the document) " with dissatisfaction officers of the General Government taking, on various occasions, active parts in election of public functionaries, whether of the General or the State Governments. Freedom of elections being essential to the mutual independence of Governments and of the differing branche of the same Government, so vitally cherished by most of our constitutions, it is deemed improper for officers depending on the Executive of the Union to attempt to control or influen the free exercise of the elective right. This I am instructed, therefore, to notify all officers within my Department, holding their appointments under the authority of the President directly, and to desire them to notify to all subordinate to them. The right of any officer to give his vote at elections as a qualified citizen is not meant to be restrained, nor, nowever GIVEN, shall it have any effect to his prejudice; but it is expected that he will not attempt to influence the votes of others, nor take any part in the business of electioneering, THAT BEING DEEMED INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION and his duties to it.

[Niles's Reg. xxix., 274.

This circular had its effect, for Mr. JEFFERSON was known to be a man of his word. The abuse which it denounced was unknown in the times of himself and his republican successors, Madison, Monroe, and J. Q. Adams. On one occasion the citizens of Washington, friendly to the re-election of Mr. Adams, and indignant at the unprincipled assaults on his Administration, assembled in town meeting and adopted proceedings expressive of their sentiments. The meeting was numerous, for but few individuals in this community entertained different sentiments, and appointed a committee of vigilance and correspondence, consisting of fifteen persons. There was not a single office-holder either on the committee or even present at the meeting. Such was the reverence in those days for the purity 'York. The "growing little volume" has grown of elections ! [See National Intelligencer of June to be a big volume of more than 900 pages ! 5, 1828, for an account of the meeting.

When Gen. Jackson became President he introduced into his inaugural address the following pas-

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscrib on the list of Executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform; which will require particu-larly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment, and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent

Though this remark involved a charge against President ADAMS's administration which every body knew to be a barefaced calumny, every one had a right to infer from it that President Jackson would not allow the patronage of the Federal Government to be brought "into conflict with the freedom of elections." But such an expectation was soon disappointed. And, on the eve of the next Presidential election, Gen. Jackson being again a candidate, we find the Fourth Auditor and the Commissioner of the General Land Office begging subscriptions to Extra Globes, &c. Mr. Cass, Secretary of War under President JACKSON, distinguished himself by an electioneering criticism on the decision of the Supreme Court in the Cherokee case. President VAN BUREN came into office the professed Imitator of President Jackson; and, for the modest purpose of promoting his re-election, wrote his White Sulphur letter, his Cary letter, his Fishkill letter, &c., and took his four months' tour. His Cabinet, too, were not behind him in imitating their "illustrious predecessors" in this respect; and "Those who make the President must support him. Their political fate becomes identified, and they must stand or fell kill letter, &c., and took his four months' tour. His several of them published electioneering missives. One of them, Mr. GRUNDY, had before made an impressive commentary, by anticipation, on his own ted States," I see an office-holder interfering in elections, the first idea that strikes me is, that HE IS THINKING OF HIS OFFICE AND HIS BREAD, and therefore an UNFIT ADVISER of those whose only object is 'the public good.' '

The subordinate office-holders closely imitated these great examples. Official electioneering, high and low, was so flagrant and so sturdy as to indicate that the evil complained of by Mr. JEFFERSON and increased to a most disgraceful and alarming Office and the Second Assistant Postmaster General, extent. This and other manifold abuses called loudly for reform, real reform; and it came. Gen. HARRISON was elected President almost by acclamation; and that WHIG President had been hardly clate, Mr. Foore, a Senator from Mississippi, isformight in his seat before he caused a circular to sued the following circular, mandatory and advisory: be issued, like that of President JEFFERSON, with some additions, also called for by the times. The

"The President is of opinion that it is a great abuse bring the patronage of the General Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and that this abuse ought to be corrected wherever it may have been permitted to exist, and o be prevented for the future.

"He therefore directs that information be given to all offi ers and agents in your department of the public service that artisan interference in popular elections, whether of State officers or officers of this Government, and for whomsvever or against whomsoever it may be exercised, or the payment of any contribution or assessment on salaries or official comper ation for party or election purposes, will be regarded by him

"It is not intended that any officer shall be restrained the free and proper expression and maintenance of his opinio respecting public men or public measures, or in the exercise fullest degree of the constitutional right of suffrage but persons employed under the Government, and paid for heir services out of the public treasury, are not expected to

ninds or votes of others-such conduct being deemed inconistent with the spirit of the constitution and the duties of public agents acting under it; and the President is resolved, o far as depends upon him, that, WHILE THE EXERCISE OF THE ELECTIVE PRANCHISE BY THE PROPLE SHALL BE PREE PROM UNDUE INPLUENCES OF OFFICIAL STATION AND AU-THORITY, OPINION SHALL ALSO BE PREE AMONG THE OFFI-CERS AND AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"The President wishes it further to be announced and dis finctly understood that from all collecting and disbursing officers promptitude in rendering accounts and entire punctuality in paying balances will be rigorously exacted. In his opinion it is time to return, in this respect, to the early practice of the Government, and to hold any degree of delinquency on the part of those entrusted with the public money just cause of mmediate removal. He deems the severe observance of this rule to be essential to the public service, as every dollar lost to the Treasury by unfaithfulness in office creates a necessity for a new charge upon the people."

Within ten days after the issuing of this circular President HARRISON died; and with him died the bright hopes which had cheered the patriot's heart on the accession of the Whigs to power. From that time to the present the electioneering practices of office-holders have gone on from bad to worse. until they are now a scandal to the very name of republican Government.

'The " patronage of the General Government' which in Mr. JEFFERSON's time was thought by him to be "enormous," rapidly increased, and i 1826 greatly alarmed that sensitive "Democrat" Mr. VAN BUREN. In the celebrated report* on Executive patronage, made to the Senate in that year by a committee of which he was a member, they exemplify its extent by an instance taken from single city. After copying the names and compensation of the officers of the customs at New York from the "Blue Book of the Republic," which the report says "corresponds with the 'Red Book' of monarchies," and calls " that growing little volume," it exclaims :

"A formidable list, indeed!-formidable in numbers, an still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election and that they will be so animated is a proposition too plain | throne. to need demonstration. Power over a man's support has always been held and admitted to be power over his will. The President has 'power' over the 'support' of all these officers, and they again have power over the support of debtor merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day laboring, to ministration," wherever they may be, whether in the Court Journal of Sunday, in publishing his speech, whom they can and will extend or deny a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the part they shall act in State as well as in Federal elections. Still this is only a branch, a mere prong, of Federal patronage in the city of New York."

When this patriotic lamentation was uttered there were 174 custom-house officers at New York, and the amount of their respective compensations was \$119,620.39. Taking the ratio of increase from an estimate made in 1840, and the size of the last Blue Book, the number of those officers would be now more than 900, and the amount of their compensations about one million of dollars! And this, the committee remind us, " is only a brunch, a mere prong, of Federal patronage in the city of New

Of the aggregate of this Federal patronage the committee sav:

"The whole of this great power will centre in the Presi lent. The King of England is the 'fountain of bonor;' the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of Federal appointmen and contracts. He has 'power' over the 'support' of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chooses from the circle of bis friends and supporters, and may dismiss them, and, upon all the principles uman action, will dismiss them, as often as they dis his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to State and Federal offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check and control of the Senate, without new constitutional or statutory provisions, will cease to operate. Patronage will penetrate this body, subdue its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily and much more securely with than without the nominal check of the Senate. If the President was himself the officer of the People, elected by them, and re-sponsible to them, there would be less danger from this concentration of all power in his hands; but it is the business statesmen to act upon things as they are, and not as they would wish them to be. We must then look forward to the time when the public revenue will be doubled; when the civi and military officers of the Federal Government will be quad apled; when its influence over individuals will be multiplied an indefinite extent; when the nomination by the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recom mendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed—the President wants my vote and I want us patronage; I will vork as he wishes, and he will nive me What will this be but the Government in its substance, and the name soon accommodates itself to the substance. The first Roman Emperor was styled Empe-ror of the Kepublic, and the last French Emperor took the same title, and their respective countries were just as essentially monarchical before as after the assumption of these titles. It cannot be deried or dissembled but that this Federal Government.

ogether. Right or wrong, they must support him," &c. Such is the description given by the leaders of the pseudo-Democratic party of the power which conduct. "When." said he, in the Senate of the Uni- that same party is now wielding, trunk, branches, prongs, and all, to prevent the election of ZACHARY

> TAYLOR to the Presidency. The interference of the Federal officers in this election has reached a pitch of audacity unexampled even in the bad times which they are aiming to perpetuate. The last Baltimore Convention did what we believe its "illustrious predecessor" had not ventured to do-it appointed two high officers members of an electioneering Executive Committee at Washington. These officers promptly entered on their electioneering duties, and with their asso-

WASHINGTON, JUNE 24, 1848. Sin: The undersigned were designated by the National Democratic Committee at the Baltimora Convention to serve HARRISON circular was issued March 20, 1841, and in the following words:

Democratic Committee at the Daminton to sid, by such means as may be within their reach, the efforts of their friends in other parts of the Union in the pending Presiden-

ttal election.

From information already received in this city it is certain that the leaders of the Federal or Whig party will resort to an extensive system of misrepresentation, adapted in its de-tails to every section of the Union, which they will render more effective and mischievous by a thorough organization. To counteract these designs and movements it is incumbent upon the Democratic party to be equally as well organized, ctive, vigilant, and energetic. Our friends should at once make a thorough organization in every State, county, and district in the Union. It should be so complete and perfect as to reach every individual member of the party.

This being done, measures should at once be taken to supply all voters with documents containing important informa-tion upon subjects which will be involved in the present canass. Valuable compilations will be made setting forth the prepared as the canvass progresses, to refute the misrepre-

Principles and policy of the Democratic party.

These compilations will be printed and furnished at price * 19th Congress, 1st session, May 4, 1826, Sen. Doc. 88.

take an active or officious part in attempts to influence the | sufficient to cover the cost—say at the rate of fifty cents per | words, as uttered by him, mean what they purport hundred copies for any one of said tracts not exceeding eight pages—and forwarded, franked, and directed to any part of the Union.

We would, therefore, respectfully suggest the expediency

of forming clubs for the purpose of disseminating political intelligence among the people. Money intended for this object should be transmitted, post paid, to Major B. B. French, treastrer, of this city, which shall be faithfully applied ac-

The Whigs have nominated their candidates without the avowal of any principles—it becomes important to detect and expose false issues intended to operate on different sections of expose false issues intended to operate on different sections of the Union. We should, therefore, be glad to be specially informed of the grounds on which our opponents wage the contest in every part of the country. Should the Whigs at the North fraternize with the Abolitionists, that fact should be exposed at the South, to prevent them representing to the people that they are the only safeguards of her peculiar interest. Letters and papers showing the progress of the canvass and exposing the course of the Whigs in different sections of the Union, should be directed to Henry S. Foote, at Washington, one of the undersigned, who is entitled to receive ington, one of the undersigned, who is entitled to receive them free; also, names of persons to whom documents should be sent. Relying on your faithful co-operation in our common cause, we have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

H. S. FOOTE, EDMUND BURKE,

W I BROWN

As Mr. Foore left this city very shortly after the adjournment of Congress, the partisan labors of the committee have fallen altogether on his colleagues, the Commissioner of the Patent Office and the Second Assistant Postmaster General, Indeed, it seems probable that this was the calculation at the outset, and that Mr. FOOTE was only put on the committee to secure the advantage of his more extensive franking privilege. The labors of the Se- in duty; and let them abstain from further efforts cond Assistant Postmaster General must have been especially onerous; for, in addition to those de- enormous patronage of the General Governvolved on him by the " National Democratic Comformed another part in the drama of "smothering" the freedom of elections by making speeches at Cass meetings. On these occasions the bills an- that, at a political meeting held on the 11th instant nounce him, indeed, as "WILLIAM J. BROWN, OF INDIANA:" but every one knows that the orator is being interrupted by an individual holding a public the Second Assistant Postmaster General, just as office under the General Government, appealed to the well as, when the play of RICHARD III, is performed, the audience know who is the Buckingham that is pleading for the elevation of his patron to the tions, and that the appeal was sustained by hearty

The instance just noticed is an all-sufficient illustration of the "conflict" between "the patronage of the Federal Government" and " the freedom of elections," which is witnessed every day and in every part of the Union. The "enlisted soldiers of the Adhighest departments of the Government, in bureaus, in custom houses, in post offices, at clerks' desks, &c., the strongest assurances that Pennsylvania will reor even among the officers of the penitentiary, are deem itself." That, we think, Pennsylvania has found not only engaged in this unholy conflict, but already done; though not according to the venerafighting with poisoned weapons. In one event, ble Editor's notion of political redemption. His they hope for impunity from the magnanimity of present hopes, doubtless as strong as those the great and virtuous man whom they calumniate. In another event, they know that they will be tried by a code of which it is the cardinal principle that destined like them o sad disappointment. The party services are the only titles to public offices; of which it is a maxim that " to the victors belong the spoils;" and which is administered to the vanquished and to non-combatants in the spirit of one of its earliest sentences, "root hog or die." Confiding in the correctness of this estimate of "circumstances," they interfere in elections without stint or decency; and on one occasion, in noticing the indignant rebuke which such proceedings had provoked, an assembly of Gen. Cass's partisans were not ashamed to blurt out their sycophancy in the following frantic libel on the Hero whose name ought to be dear to every man calling himself an

"Resolved, That we treat with contempt and scorn the impotent and ridiculous threats of the minions of Taylorism towards those officers of the Government who choose to exercise their rights as citizens; that neither the threatened lash of their master, the glitter of his beyonets, the baying of his bloodhounds, nor the bullying of his whippers-in can

The foregoing resolution was adopted at a "Democratic" meeting in this city, held on the 27th ultimo, of which meeting the President, three Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and the three principal orators, were persons holding offices, of different grades, under the Federal Government; and the resolution itself was offered by one of these same officeholders. The proceedings of the meeting were published in the official journal of that same Federal Government .- See "Union" of September 29.7 This last fact may not, in the opinion of our readers, deserve particular notice; for, except the mere difference in the subordinate respects of taste and style, Gen. TAYLOR is treated about as well in the resolution as he generally is in the columns of the official. Indeed, to ascend, or at least to pass, from the official to its employers, neither in the resolution nor the official is there a more substantial libel against Gen. TAYLOR than is conveyed in the whole course of the Administration, and of some of its chief partisans in both Houses of Congress towards him, ever since his country connected his name with the Presidency; beginning with the President's message of December, 1846, in which any mention of Gen. TAYLOR's name was studiously omitted; and continuing with the speeches of Messrs. Ficklin, Thompson, &c. in the House of Representatives ; the successful effort there to convert a vote of thanks to him into a vote of censure the similar effort of Messrs. SEVIER, BAGBY, (both of whom have since received foreign missions,) and others, in the Senate: the attempt to supersede him by a Lientenant General to be taken from the ranks of Government, the Commissioner of the Patent of civil life, and, that failing, the confessed regret of the President that a junior Major General could not legally be put over him, &c.

But to return to the topic from which we have

somewhat digressed: We have avowed the opinion that the extent. transcending even the previous precedents of Locofocoism, to which office-holders " have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the "freedom of elections," in the present contest for "the Presidency," is attributable to a calculation, on their part, of probabilities. On the one hand, they fear that, should the Platform nominee be elected, he will punish inaction by enforcing the rule of "rotation in office," and they expect him to nullify that rule in favor of active officials, and even to reward with promotion extraordinary zeal. On the other hand, as they know that Zach-ARY TAYLOR, if elected, will be President of the nation, and not of a party, so they hope that he will not look down from his high official, and higher moral elevation on their partisan deeds. The calculation does infinite honor to our brave and generous old chief. But it omits an important item, and the omission seriously affects the result. General Taylon has indeed said that if elected he will be

President of the nation and not of a party, and the

country knows enough of him to know that these

to mean, and that a substantial meaning; not the no-meaning which they had when uttered by the present occupant of the chair that he is about to fill. But General TAYLOR has also uttered the following memorable words: "Should a majority of the good people of our country think proper to elevate me to the first office in their gift-or I may say the first in the world-I will feel bound to serve them, and will do so honestly and faithfully, to the best of my abilities, strictly in conformity to the provisions of the Constitution, as near as possible, in the way it was acted on and construed by our first Presidents, two of whom, at least, participated in creating and putting in operation that glorious instrument."

Now, one of these first Presidents, we have seen, dopted as one rule by which he "acted on" and " construed" the Constitution, that "interferences with elections, whether of the State or General Governments, by officers of the latter, SHOULD BE DEEMED CAUSE OF REMOVAL." Such interferences he proclaimed to be "INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION." The wisdom of this rule of President JEFFERSON, apparent on its face, has been painfully illustrated by the proofs which subsequent experience has accumulated. Let, then, the office-holders bear in mind that ZACHARY TAYLOR, however generous in feeling, is no less firm to " smother" " the freedom of election" " by the MENT." They may rely on it that, among the mittee at the Baltimore Convention," he has per- masses, to right feeling men of all parties, the evil dendunced by Presidents JEFFERSON and HARRISON has become absolutely loathsome. We are assured in Fairfax county, Virginia, one of the speakers, on audience, consisting of persons of both parties. against the interference of Federal officers in elecand repeated acclamations.

If any thing were wanting to complete the dis gust of the public mind at these official pollutions of the elective franchise, it would be supplied by Mr. Secretary Buchanan's exhibition on last Fri day evening, to which we adverted vesterday. The with a dutiful meed of applause, says it " gives us which the Secretary's recent telegraphic despatch had before excited in his fond bosom, are probably joy which the honorible Secretary's performance has afforded to him is not, we apprehend, felt by any American citizen whose sense of right is not merged in the sensibilities of office. In one re spect this proceeding of the Secretary of State is, so far as we remember, without precedent and with-

Mr. Cass, when Secretary of War to General Jackson, published, we have already remarked, an electioneering attack in the Supreme Court for its decision in the controversy between the State of Georgia and the Cherokee nation; and Mr. For-SUTH, when Secretary of State to Mr. VAN BUREN. moved from his propriety by the distressed condition of his chief, addressed an electioneering letter to the people of Georgia. And other members of Mr. VAN BUREN's Cabinet interfered, as he himself did, by letters, with popular elections. It was own example the first instance in which a member of the Cabinet has made a speech in or to the street, expressly and merely on the general subject of a Presidential election. His position must have seemed picturesque at least to every spectator who happened to recollect that, when a member of the House of Representatives, he had exclaimed: "Does not the gentleman know that when a man is once appointed to office all the selfish passions of his nature are entisted for the purpose of retaining it? The office-holders are the KNLISTED

are sustained. Of the matter of the speech we have but little to say, in addition to our remarks yesterday. It proposes to speak fairly of Gen. Taylor; but in what t says of him, some at least of its readers may be nclined to think there is less of candor than of Mrs. Candor." The declaration that "Democrats can never coalesce with Native Americans, Abolitionists, or factionists bearing any other name,' hardly does for a flourish even, in the teeth of some exceedingly awkward historical facts. But we pass from this, and other passages in the same vein, to what is, incontestably, the richest part of the " eloquent speech," and as such, in accordance with the Ciceronian rule, is made the peroration. The Secretary thus gives vent to the emotions that agitate his patriotic breast:

"In the mean time, General Taylor's election will enpurage a spirit throughout the land hostile to the pursuits of peaceful industry and commerce. Our aspiring youth, findng that the path of military glory is the road to high civil distinction, will be ever ready and anxious to involve the country in foreign wars.

Gen. Taylor's election will encourage a spirit hostile to the pursuits of peaceful industry!" In that event "our aspiring youth" "will be ever ready and anxious to involve the country in foreign wars!" These disasters are to follow from the election of Gen. TAYLOR, who, glorious as he is in war, resplendent as is his fame with military achievements which have fixed on him the gaze of an admiring world, is emphatically THE FRIEND OF PEACE. He has said, before his country :

"That the joy and exultation of the greatest victories were always, after the heat and excitement of the battle, succeeded by feelings of poignant sorrow and pain; and that war, after all, was a great calamity, and his the greatest glory who

could terminate it. "I need hardly reply to your concluding inquiry, that I AM A PEACE MAN, and that I deem a state of peace to be absolutely necessary to the proper and healthful action of our republican institutions. On this important question I freely confess myself to be the unqualified advocate of the principles so often laid down by the Father of his Country, and so urgently recommended by him in his Farewell Address to the American people. Indeed, I think I may safely say that no mun can put a more implicit faith than I do in the wis-

" My life has been devoted to arms, yet I look upon war, at all times and under all circumtances, as a NATIONAL CALAMITY, to be avoided if compatible with national honor. The principles of our Government, as well as its true policy, are opposed to the SUBJUGATION OF OTHER NATIONS. AND THE DISMEMBERMENT OF OTHER COUNTRIES by conquest.

The prediction that the election of a man enter taining these principles will be " hostile to the pursuits of peaceful industry," &c., and tempt "our aspiring youth" to set about involving "the country in foreign wars," would be, under any circumstances, quite cool. But, considering who is the seer that makes the prediction, and for whose benefit it is made, it is cool enough to refresh one even in the dog days. While Gen. TAYLOR is. emphatically and avowedly, a FRIEND OF PEACE. Gen. Cass, in whose behalf the Secretary of State brings "the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections," defying the angry glists of the "enlisted soldiers," &c .- General Cass, we say, is no less emphatically and avowedly the FRIEND OF WAR. He, he is the "aspiring youth" who, as he has before been "ready and anxious," may be expected to be again "ready and anxious to involve the country in foreign wars." Look at his whole course on the Oregon controversy; as to which we would refer our readers to some notices of it in our paper of the 29th of July last. In what light it was viewed by one of the ablest, most distinguished, and most decided members of his own party, will be seen in Senator Benton's speech of June 1, 1846, e. g. the following passages:

"Mr. B. said it was a case to try the frailty of poor human ature. The great organ, and five hundred small owing its noter, and many ten thousand tengues, had pro-claimed the 54° 40' line, and our right up to is; and, thus acting upon the patriotic feelings of the people, had prepared them for a war with Great Britain for that line, when there was no such thing; and for Frazier's river, on this side of it, without knowing it was there. The people had been led into error; inflamed to the war point upon a mistake; and now, when the mistake was shown, the tug of another apon poor human nature. To admit the error, and ask pardon of God and man, was the part of justice and candor; but this was humiliating to vanity and self-love and the pride of consistency. To persevere in this error, after it was detected, was the part of human frailty; and the Senator from Michigan, on the part of his party, has obeyed the law of frailty: he has persevered in error; he converts into design what was in the beginning a mistake! We are now to have war, as er as the Senator and his party can make it, UPON DESIGN. AND WITHOUT PRETEXT; for he could not name Frazier's river, which is the sole object, and would be the instant cause

"The Senator and his party—the big organ and those which have followed its notes-have been leading the country to a war with Great Britain upon a mistake, upon a blunder, apon an ignorance of treaties and geography. The mistake has been exposed by reading the treaties and producing the geography. Instead of admitting the error, the Senator from Michigan, for himself and friends, perseveres in it; and thus what was mistake in the beginning becomes design - a design to have a war with Grent Britain, without during to name

the pretext."
"We are the American Senate, acting in the eyes of the present age and of posterity, and upon a great responsibili-y. By our acts war may be made, and we are bound by ery sacred and every human obligation to make no mistake bringing about so great a calamity. War is a calamity in itself-a war upon a mistake is a double calamity; but a war PON DESIGN, after the mistake is detected, is a calamity for which there is no name. It rises to the magnitude of the greetest crime."

"Was there ever any thing so ridiculous? ever any thing so farcical? ever any thing so menting the reboke of the peo-ple, thus misled and deceived, at first by ignorance, and now

"The people have been misled-grossly and widely misled; ignorantly, at first, as we were bound to believe-designedly now, as we painfully see. The fifty-four-forty line never existed. The treaty proves it; yet its existence is still affirmed, to mislead the uninformed, and to save the misleaders from the mortification of exposure."

" And when the treaty and the river was produced, and the mistakes shown, instead of confession and repentance, resentent and attack upon him who exposes the error, and saves the country from senseless, IGNORANT, UNJUSTIFIABLE

life. I have felt for the American Senate when I have seen member clinging to error, and endeavoring to keep the people in error, even at the risk of war, by endeavoring to do reserved for the present Secretary of State to go a away the plain words of a treaty, by garbling and mutilating in the presence of which every selfish feeling should have stood abashed and rebuked."

On the Mexican question Gen. Cass was just as " ready and anxious" for war as he had been on the OREGON question. Who that thinks of WAR as Gen. TAYLOR and Col. BENTON do, can forget the mingled fierceness and levity of Gen. Cass's speeches on our Mexican relations? His willingness to " swallow Mexico to-morrow :" " to annex the domains of Mexico to our own!" &c. The apprehension that the election of Gen. TAYLOR, the SOLDIERS of the Administration by which they friend of peace, would lead to war, is not the only fear that haunts the Secretary of State. Hear him

> "Under this precedent, too, officers of every grade in the regular army, whilst actually holding and exercising their military commissions, may become candidates for civil office before the people of the different States, and engage actively as partisans to secure their own election-an event which but three short years ago would have been deemed impossible in this country."

Cool again! Military officers electioncering. How shocking it would be for officers of the army to follow the example of the "enlisted soldiers" " of every grade" in the civil line! Positively, this whole peroration brings before the mind's eye a personage whom an esteemed contemporary once presented to the notice of the honorable Secretaryto wit, OILY GAMMON.

The Cincinnati Gazette of Thursday says Never were the Whigs of Onio actuated by firmer or better spirit than now. Every man is confident of success, and every man is determined to labor for it, and enter upon his duties with energy. We hear from all parts of the State that the Whigs are now thoroughly roused up, and determined to carry the State for Taylor and Fillmore. Taylor or Cass-Fillmore or Butler. These are the men we are to choose from. Van Buren stands no earthly chance of an election even in the opinion of his warmest supporters; and every vote ast for him increases the chance of Cass's success.'

The Philadelphia Spirit of the Times (Locofoc thus moralizes on the election in Pennsylvania: "There is no use in denying it! We are beaten! We are unmistakeably used up-for the present! We have been lammed,' (as the classic Jakey would elegantly enounce it.)

most remarkably, mysteriously, and confoundedly ! "We do not belong to the weeping school of philosophy, as our readers have had frequent occasion to know. We do not believe in what the juveniles call 'crying over spilt milk." We conceive that it is too much to expect Fortune to wait always upon one man or upon one party. Hence, we look upon it as folly to despair, or to indulge in idle grief, when the shifting scenes in politics present, in turn, a gloomy specimen of the picturesque. Laughing is more pleasant as well as more healthy; so we go in for laughing even over our misfortunes, and our Democratic readers have a little too much reason just now to imitate our example."

The Pigeons and the Types got on board of the Niagara at Halifax, the pigeons, in spite of every effort of Capt. Ryric to detect them. Four of them were let off in the bay; one HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN.

The good old maxim-the most familiar yet the most true of adages-was never more impressively illustrated than by the result of the election in this State on Tuesday week and we place it for the day, at the head of our columns, that it may be read and pondered by politicisus-by those among them who had forgotten its existence, or brought themselves to believe that it had no application to the affairs of parties or the increase of the individuals who direct them. There has been too much disposition in the United States, and par-ticularly in Pennsylvania, with such people, to bring politics under the same infamous rule which is supposed to justify all the frauds and cruelties of war. Every thing, however, is not fair in war; and the Pennsylvania deletion has shown that parties cannot depart from the obli-gations of honesty without preparing for themselves thereby their own inevitable overthrow. There is no fact more certain (who will dare deny it ?) than that the great Whig victory of I'nesday week-and great it is in every view, involving the direct consequence of the memorable Locofoco fraud of 1844, "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842." The people of Pennsylvania are neither fools nor slaves: the have simply risen against insult and oppression, and, with one stern buffet, have dismissed in disgrace the faithless politicians to whom they had so long entrus ed the reins of power. They have been deceived, they have been grossly wronged and outraged. The mistake of the Buchanans and Dallases, and the multitude of smaller officials and adventurers who assisted multitude of smaller ometars and adventures that a people them in their nefarious work, was in supposing that a people them in their nefarious work, was in supposing that a people to be so easily misled, were who had allowed themselves to be so easily misled, were without the intelligence to detect or the spirit to resent the in-In fact, the history of parties presents no instance of a po-

litical deception so impudently wicked and ruinous as that practised upon Pennsylvania by her Locofoco leaders in 1844. No State in the Union has so mighty an interest at stake as she in the protective policy. Her coal and iron peculiarly depend upon a tariff system discriminating in favor of the labor which forms seven-eighths of its cost. Every man in Pennsylvania was, in 1844, wise enough to understand that; and every man, too, at least suspected that the mechanical and manufacturing industry of the State—to say nothing of the agricultural, which has really more at risk other—had a deep interest in the preservation of the protective tariff of 1842; which, in less than two years' operation and proved itself to be the best tariff law that had ever been enacted. To the people of Pennsylvania, thus interested in the protective policy, and devoted, as they were to the tariff of 1842, were presented, as Presidential candidates, Henry Clay and James K. Polk—the one the notorious tried friend, the very father, so to speak, of the whole protective system; the other known only to persons familiar with the political history of the country—for he was too obscure a person to be the acquaintance of the masses—as a Southern free-trader of the Cathoun and McDuffie school, an old and proved enemy of every thing in the shape of the protective policy.

Well, these two gentlemen were presented to Pennsylvania as competitors. Mr. Polk's recommendation was his "democracy:" his free trade was a difficulty, and it was at first

since it appeared that the leaders, the most eminent of the Loco-oco party in Pennsylvania, those who now sit aloft in offices nor, and profit, and power, the rewards of their political dishonesty, were ready to declare that he was a friend to proection-as good a friend, ney, a better friend even than Heny Ciay! The Democrats of Pennsylvania listened and be Their credulity at the time was deemed unnatural. But it had been the base policy of Locofocoism to enlist the passions of the party against the Whigs-who were all to be insidered as federalists, aristocrats, dainty rich men, the enemies of the poor man and the working man—and against Whig testimony of all kinds, which (the very naked proved truth itself) was to be rejected as "Whig falsehood." "Polk, Dalles, and the Tariff of '42" was the banner of Pennsylvania Locofocoism, under which Pennsylvania Democrats, with songs, and rejoicings, and garlands of victory—they proved to be those of sacrifice—thrust Henry Clay, the friend of pro-tection, aside, and elected James K. Polk, its enemy, to the Chief Magistracy of the United States. We know the re-Chief Magistracy of the Chief Salet is abolished by the cast-ing vote of one of Mr. Polk's Pennsylvania sponsors; while another sat (the Premier, in the office of State) smiling, we must suppose (for nobody ever accused him of weeping) at the ruin that was to be brought upon Pennsylvania. On a sudden these worthy officials and their followers threw off the mask. European famine and the Irish potato-rot came to their aid. In the midst of the large trade and golden profits of this accidental market the Tariff of '42 was denou of this accidental market the Tariff of '42 was denounced as a wrong and absurdity, a "bill of abominations," and Free Trade and the Tariff of '46 commended as the true sources of Pennsylvania prosperity. The people of the State were astounded, confused, uncertain. But truth is mighty and falsehood is impotent. The rains fell and the sun sh Europe. England needed no more Pennsylvania breadstuffs; but she had abundance of iron and other manfactures cheap-dog cheap, because produced by labor barely fed instead of being actually paid—to force upon us under the facilities of the great interests-in other words, the great industries-of Pennsylvania. The scales fell from the eyes of the people of Pennsylvania. They knew they had been deceived; they perceived the infirmy of the transaction which had robbed them of their prosperity only that Mr. Polk might be Presi-dent, and their deceivers roll in the purple and ermine of high and now their betrayers, who calculated upon their fancied stelidity to the last, are in the dust, overthrown by the majesty of their indignation. It was the indignation of the erinsylvania working men-of both parties, toe-the miners, the furnace men, the manufacturers, mechanics, farmerswhich the State owes her deliverance and the downfall of her

What a lesson is to be found in the Pennsylvania election? A change of the most marvellous character-an entire party evolution-effected in a moment, as by a stroke of er ment, with, to the superficial examiner, no manifestation of the means and agencies by which the surprising result has been accomplished. It was not the effect of any popular pas-sion or enthusiasm. There was no excitement—every body remarked that. It was the boast of Locofoco orators and editors to the last that the Whigs could not inspirit or inflame their tell wers; that the people, and in especial the people of Pennsylvania, were coming up to the polls coldiy. And cold-ly, in fact, they did come—coldly, calmly, but sternly; no anger, but much resolution; no tumult or agitation; or evi-dence of any hurrah-spirit; all was the grave serenity of a determined people, conscious of a wrong, but equally conscious of the power to revenge it. That calmeress of the people of Pennsylvania, on the 10th of October, in the act of degrading the politicians who had wronged them, was a ma-jestic spectacle, the bravest and best evidence of their fitness

for any emergency of self-government.

The credulity of '44 was a folly; the revenge of '48 is, apart from its immense political interest, a great moral lesson, which demegogues may study as a warning and the country will remember with profit. The election, by a Pennsylvania. vote, of James K. Polk, the free-trader and insignifica politician, over Henry Clay, the friend of American indu the great statesman and patriot, seemed at the time, and was so lamented, as the victory of cunning over talent, of insig-nificance over merit, of vice over virtue, of falsehood over truth; and men were shocked at the belief that hereafter ambition was to seek the means of rising in low political tricke-ries, not in useful labors and long public services. The fear now at an end. The Pennsylvania election has replaced intelligence on her pedestal and virtue on her throne; and rom this time forth it will be believed, as it has always been by the best men and in the best days of the republic, that, in ennsylvania and every State of the Union, for politicians, as for all other persons, there is no policy but one policy, and that honesty is the best policy.

THE SUBTREASURY LAW.

The Providence Journal furnishes the following pertinent illustration of the practical working of this peautiful law: .

"The Worcester Railroad had a claim against the Post Office Department on account of the transportation of the mail. In the ordinary way of business, as the matter would be transacted in the absence of any restraining law, the Treasurer would have received a check upon a bank in Providence or New York, and in five minutes thereafter the amount would have been deposited to his credit. Under the Sifttreasury he should have been paid in specie. He was paid in orders upon five different post offices, in a circuit of fifty or sixty miles, and it was a good day's work to collect them, and he was uniformly paid in bank bills. It is so all over the country.'

The New York Express thinks that the Raiload Companies of New York could confirm by their own experience a like statement with the above.

COUNTERFEIT SOVEREIGNS -We have been requested to caution the public against an imitation of the sovereigns now in circulation, exceedingly well calculated to impose on par-ties who do not exercise due care in examining the mency they receive. The spurious coin appears to be composed of silver, gilt, and in color and execution bears a very close resemblance to the genuine sovereign; but it is so extremely light as to be immediately defected on being weighed in the hand, and its ring is very defective. It bears the date of 1847.—Manchester Guardian.

The house of HENSRAW, WARD & Co., of Boston, stepdom of his advice, when he urged upon us the the weather was so thick that it is doubtful whether they gain to four hundred and twenty thousand dollars. This faithree propriety of always standing upon our own soil." ed much on the steamer—Boston Traveller of Friday.